2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

reproduced with Chinese characters, Lan Jo and Tsen Chia Lan Lin, but these do not occur in Anking. It is interesting that Richard gives only two temples to the province of Kiang Si, which is the stronghold of Taoism. The word T'an, used by the Christians for their churches, does not occur in the Huailing Hsien Chih applied to temples.

A Chinese temple must not be thought of as a kind of church, standing in the midst of a group of people who look upon it as their religious home. These temples are not built for worship by large bodies of people at one time. The number of worshippers at a service is very small, except at the large Buddhist monasteries, where there are a hundred or so monks, and I have never seen a temple which could accomodate a good sized congregation in its main hall. The idea is Hebrew rather than Greek or Christian ; there are courtyards in which the multitude may wait while the priests sacrifice before the shrine within. And it must be remembered that a Chinese does not belong to a temple and regularly attend worship there, as a Christian belongs to his parish church, for there is nothing in the Three Religions corresponding to the Christian congregation.

It is true that there appear to be exceptions to this rule, but they are not really so. Members of a trade gild hold their meetings before an altar and bow to the image or tablet upon it, but the meeting place is not necessarily considered a temple. All the members of a clan have a share in the family temple, but they never meet there for worship in a body. There is nothing in Chinese worship like the singing of hymns, the joining in prayer or in offerings, which can be seen regularly in any Christian church, where everyone present takes part in the service. Another western feature lacking is the sermon, for while Buddhists occasionally hold services for the purpose of enlightening the laity, what they say or read is mainly unintelligible to their hearers because of the strange vocabulary, filled with technical terms and Sanscrit transliterations. Anyone may go to a temple and sacrifice on his own account, but the services are shared in only by the priests.

The institution of the middle-man, so common in Chinese business and social life, appears in religion as well. A man hires monks to say masses for

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

his dead, the head of the clan sacrifices for his family, and the official reports to the god for the people he represents, ascribing the common good or evil to his own virtue or sin. A layman may pay for a religious celebration, but he plays a very passive part in it himself. There are, of course, no Confucian monks or nuns, but their place is taken by an official or his substitute.

In the temples are posted lists of contributors. Some time ago a temple in Anking came under the suspicion of the authorities for some reason, so the officials simply took the list of contributors and confiscated their land. But such lists do not usually mean more than that the persons named have performed good works by giving to the temple.

There seem to be four essentials in the worship at any of these temples: prayer, the kowtow or the bow (Chu Kung), incense and candles. Besides these there may be music, chanting and reading of sacred texts, offerings of various kinds, firecrackers and noises of considerable variety, and processions which may include the carrying of sacred images, banners, pictures and lanterns. There are also a number of observances connected with religion, like the special cakes in honor of the moon eaten at the Mid-Autumn Festival and the dragon processions on the 15th of the 1st month, which will not be described here because they are not connected with temples. The protest of the great Han Yu, in 819, over the bone of Buddha, seems to have been effective, for the Chinese do not appear interested in relics.

However, there is one custom which must be mentioned in this connection. Buddhist monks who have attained considerable sanctity are buried in jars of pottery, packed in charcoal made from a variety of willow, which has a preservative effect. After three years the body is removed, gilded and placed on an altar, where it is worshipped mainly by the curious and the ignorant. I know one Buddhist lady, noted for her piety, who refused to visit such a Ruh Shen, though the temple was next her home. Sometimes these "Dried Monks" are considered to be incarnations of boddhisattvas, and they usually perform miracles.

The musical instruments used in temples are divided by the Chinese into eight classes. They are given by Mrs. Richard (Chinese Music), as instru-

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

792 The temples and their priests are supported from various sources. Some
794 are endowed and receive income from land. Some depend upon certain
778 individuals and families. Many monks engage in business, selling charms, souvenirs, and conducting tea houses and hotels. Masses for the dead and special services are very lucrative, as is organized begging, which is from house to house and not done on the street. For improvements the monks have to depend upon sporadic gifts. For instance, a few years ago one of the river steamers sank following a collision and three hundred lives were lost. A wealthy Anking man had intended to take that boat, but was warned in a dream and so saved his life. In gratitude he gave several thousand dollars to the Yin Chiang Tzi, which was used to repair the pagoda. The three state temples are state supported, but repairs are made by contributions to the K'ung Chiao Huei (Confucian Society), to which all the officials belong. The cost of the sacrifices there is paid from the taxes, but no other temples receive public funds, at least not officially. It may be said that no temples except those belonging to particular families rely upon periodic contributions from a regular clientele, as do most Christian churches. The
358 result is that the fortunes of individual temples vary considerably. Pro-
778 bably as a result of political conditions, the appearance and general upkeep of Chinese temples, at least in the provinces, cannot compare with those of the shrines of Japan. Grass grows in the courts, dust clouds the gilded images, tiles are missing from the roofs and the huge columns are devoured by ants, yet even in decay their beauty is impressive, especially under the moonlight, which brings back the appearance of former splendour.

778 Certain temples are used as meeting places by trade gilds, the image of
441 the trade god being placed on a side altar. A list of the gods worshipped by
776 different trades is given in Appendix 6. As far I have discovered them, the following temples are used by gilds.

Temple of the Fire God (Ho Shen Miao), — Fortune Tellers'and Barbers' Gilds.

Temple of the God of Wealth, (Tsai Shen Miao), — Money Changers'and Cloth Merchants' Gilds.

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

346

A Monastery on Chiu Hua Shan.

792

Pilgrims Climbing Chiu Hua Shan.

[facing p. 64]

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

BUDDHIST TEMPLES

It is probable that no eastern religion has been more thoroughly investigated by western scholars than Buddhism, and a volume might be devoted merely to a bibliography upon the subject. Yet the literature in English and other European languages is nothing compared to the volumes of Chinese books, not to mention those in other Asiatic tongues. The work which might be done in the investigation of Buddhism is endless. In this brief essay, then, I shall do no more than give a rough sketch of the two representative Buddhist temples in Anking, which will enable me to mention the most characteristic gods of the Chinese form of Mahayana Buddhism.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih mentions forty-five temples which may be definitely classified as Buddhist because in them are the images of unmistakably Hindu gods. For it should be remembered that while Chinese Buddhism will place the image of almost any deity in its temples, the place of honor is always reserved for the foreign gods. I do not think it correct to call any temple Buddhist which does not have Hindu deities present, even though Buddhist monks are employed as caretakers, as is frequently the case in non-Buddhist temples. These forty-five temples are nearly all refered to as Tzi or An, and as nearly as I can discover, twenty-five are under the care of monks (Ho Shan), and twenty of nuns (Ni Ku). Although the number of temples is large, only two are of any size, the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An. The others are small, one-room buildings, often very difficult to

[p. 71]

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

find, mixed up with non-Buddhist cults like those of " Earth Gods ", frequently the property of some wealthy family who use the place as a sort of private chapel. It is likely that the solitary monk or nun in charge of one of these little shrines is supported largely by the offerings of women praying for sons, for men are infrequent visitors. I know a widow who invested her savings by buying a small temple as a business proposition, living thereafter on the income from incense, oil and gifts. The chief income of the monks in the larger temples appears to come from the masses for the dead, and in the great halls are monthly schedules and appointments for such services, with a price list. When a man of moderate means will pay five or six hundred dollars for the funeral of a parent or grandparent, a good part of which would go to the monks, it can be seen that the pious work is remunerative. Nuns may also read the sutras and say masses, but the usual custom is to send for monks. It is frequently said by foreigners that the monks are ignorant and have little or no education. This is true, perhaps, of the majority, but at the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An monasteries there are very well read and cultivated men. A monk at the former place estimated that there are about one hundred and fifteen Ho Shan in Anking, and I should guess that there are not more than thirty Ni Ku.

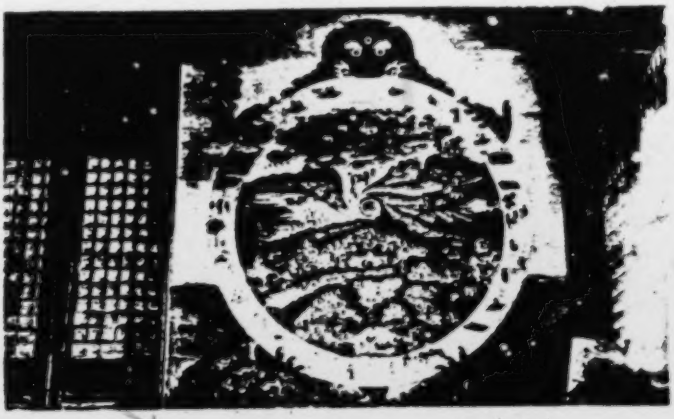
Ho Shan have secured control of a number of temples whose gods are distinctly not Buddhist, and have erected their own shrines behind the main halls. Among these are the T'eh Fu An, the Yo Wang Miao and the Ho Shen Miao. These temples will be considered in the sixth class, and here we will mention only the two chief Buddhist monasteries

The Yin Chiang Tzi is a large temple and monastery, containing about eighty monks, located on the north bank of the Yangtze a little outside the East Gate of the city, and contains within its walls the beautiful pagoda familiar to all who travel between Hankow and Shanghai. The monastery belongs to the Ch'an, or Meditative School, and is therefore typical of the majority of Buddhist temples in China.

It should be born in mind, however, that these schools are not distinct or opposed in the way that Protestantism and Catholicism are, for instance.

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

778.



The Wheel.

772.

Monks ready to say Masses for the Dead.

[facing p. 72]

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

the deliberate adoption to a Buddhist divinity of the functions of the Chinese goddess who gave sons (Sung Tzi Liang Liang), thus appealing to one of the chief desires of all Chinese. And the prominence of Ti Tsang is due to a similar attraction, for the most fundamental Chinese virtue is filial piety, which includes the worship of ancestors, and the duty of descendants toward them. This duty is accomplished in an attractive way through the Yu Lan Huei. The custom also prevents injury from these spirits.

The authorities I have quoted consider the festival to be of Buddhist origin, but Clennell *(Historical Development of Religion in China*, p. 105), says that the custom is indigenous and merely adopted by the early Buddhists. I am inclined to agree with him. The sacrifices to wandering spirits are mentioned in the Li Chi. The festival is not held in Buddhist temples, but in homes, where tables bearing incense, candles, fruit and tea are placed in the main entrances. The monks are very active saying masses in public halls, for which they are well paid by philanthropic organizations, but the temples themselves are dark. This is especialy noticeable at the Yin Chiang Tzi, which would be an admirable scene for the rite because it fronts on the river. When this absence of ceremony in the temples is combined with the great hold the observance has on all Chinese, most of whom do not go into a Buddhist temple once a year, that in the homes it is not accompanied by any Buddhist practice nor does it require the presence of monks, and that when the monks do go out, it is not to homes, but to public halls where they are invited by corporations, it seems reasonable to suppose that this is another instance where Buddhism has fastened upon some native custom it did not originate, and made the practice its own. However, it is not a matter upon which to be dogmatic. The Hindu custom is also a home rite.

The Yu Lan Huei is the most beautiful of Chinese festivals, and in 1923 I was privileged to see it under particularly favorable circumstances. The cities along the Yangtze River have a number of life saving organizations (Chiu Sen Chu), which provide public ferries, save drowning men when possible, rescue their bodies for burial when nothing else can be done, distribute coffins and medicine to the poor, and engage in other admirable charities.

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

779 Chen Yi Kuan,
778 Ch'ing Shu Kuan,
776 San Yuen Kuan,
Tzi Hsiao Kuan.

The Tung Yo, the god of the Pi Hsia Kung, is said to govern the entire province, but there seems to be some dispute concerning the validity of this claim, and some scoffers even confine his activities to the East Gate suburb.

779 The society consists entirely of men, and has between five and six hundred
794 members in Huai Ling Hsien. The card of my informant, Li, said that he was the head of the provincial organization, with the title, Chen Hui Chang, but he told me that there was little connection between the various branches of the church, even within the province. I had supposed Kiangsi to be the stronghold of Taoism, but he said it was fully as developed in Anhui. The Anking organization is in communication with the T'ien Tsi at Lung Hu Shan, and recently raised 7.000 dollars to defray the expenses of a month's visit by the latter to attend some festivities held by the governor of Anhui in Anking. I regret very much that I did not know at the time that he was in Anking. He seems to travel a good deal, whether for pleasure or in the interests of his organization I cannot say. It is unlikely that a man with so much to lose and so little to gain would meddle with Chinese politics in their present muddy condition, and there does not seem to be anything secret about the society.

792 If a man wishes to join the Taoist order, he " Enters the Gate ", through
779 a sort of apprenticeship to a member. As the Taoists' chief means of support is the saying of masses for the dead, it is necessary that they should read, and so the length of the novitiate varies. If the candidate is literate, he studies for three years, but if not, the term is six, and the course includes the Confucian classics. All the members of the society are called Tao Szi, which is usually translated as monk, but this is very misleading, as they may marry and have their own homes. No one not a member is considered a Taoist.

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

792 When a novice is ready to enter the order, he burns a prayer before the picture
779 of Chang T'ien Tsi, and in some way learns the words which will form his religious name, by which he is afterward known in the society.

792 Formerly the Taoists wore their hair long, but under the republic many
779 shave their heads like the Buddhists, although they do not have the scars of
302 the burnt incense. As shaven heads are very common in China, especially during the summer, it is almost impossible to tell a Tao Szi on ordinary occasions. They do not seem to have monasteries, but the Huai Ling Hsien Chih records the sanctity of a number of noted hermits. For services they have special robes and round small hats. As the T'ien Tsi does not live in Anking, it seems unnecessary to give an account of his equipment.

779 The Taoists do not engage in many services besides masses for the dead,
792 which are their chief source of income. They themselves do not have too much faith in their ceremonies, but they have to live, and what they do helps the ignorant on the road to virtue. A sincere Taoist, or Buddhist for that matter, has little regard for creeds, or what the majority of Christians usually mean by faith, but the former makes his aim the practice of the doctrines of Lao Tzi and the cultivation in his heart of Tao and Teh.

779 I do not think it altogether fair to accuse either Taoists or Buddhists of hypocrisy because they engage in practices whose validity they question themselves, for they hold that the majority must have sensuous objects of worship, not being able to understand the subtle abstractions of Chuang Tzi or Nagarjuna, and that the images and the ritual help those incapable of higher things on the way upwards. Their insincerity is not much worse than that of a grown-up telling stories about Santa Claus to children, or fairy tales with a good moral at the end, and everyone living happily ever after.

Taoism seems to include five elements. First there is the attempt of the sincere and educated Tao Szi to realize the doctrines of the Tao Teh Ching and the Taoist philosophers, inaction, mysticism, Tao and Teh. Teh usually means virtue though Lao Tzi uses it as the attribute of Tao, while Tao may signify a good many things, of which " Way " conveys the most frequently used sense. Various writers use it in different senses.

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

those of his own ancestors, which shows as well as anything could the different status of the various kinds of spirits.

This difference in treatment, and the fact that, so far as I know, the great sacrifice is never offered in these temples, seems an indication of their relatively recent origin and possibly of foreign influence. The robes and head dresses of these gods vary, and indicate their rank. When one of the images is consecrated, the maker places a small dot on the forehead or in the pupils of the eyes with the blood of a cock. Buddhists also do this to their gods. Sometimes openings are made in the backs of the images and models of various organs, usually the heart or the liver, are placed there, but I do not think this is required. The images are usually made of plaster or cement spread upon a wooden framework, and are painted or gilded.

[792] Monks are employed as caretakers in these temples, and sometimes get entire control of them, but Buddhist gods do not appear in the hall of the patron diety. The ordinary worship is little more than a call, such as officials and friends pay each other at the New Year, though sometimes a report or a prayer is made. The roofs of these temples may or may not be curved, and the entrance may face in any direction.

My choice among these cults, for I cannot be exhaustive, is determined by their prominence in Anking and the accessibility of knowledge concerning them there. I have chosen the City-God, the Dragon King, the Fire God, the God Who Drives away Locusts, and the God of Medicine.

The Ch'eng Huang Miao (Temple of the City-God).

The words Ch'eng Huang mean wall and moat, respectively, and together signify the city as a whole. The functions of the Ch'en Huang are two fold. First, he is the personification of the city, and as a god he occupies in the spirit world the same place held by the chief official of the city in this. He is the fortune and tutelary deity of the town. During the Manchu dynasty, the officials visited the temple on the 1st and 15th of each month, reporting what had happened in the city and burning incense, though there does not